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STOP FASCISM



NEW AMERICA

STOP FASCISM!

A FASCIST WORLD?

SO THE prosperity of the Coolidge era has succeeded the greatest economic crisis in modern history; to the internationalism of Briand and the Kellogg Pact has succeeded the same inflamed nationalism which characterized the years before the War. Economic discontent and nationalistic passion provide the most favorable atmosphere for Fascist growth.

It has come out of Italy and swept over Europe. In various guises or disguises, in differing tone and accent, under manifold forms and symbols, it appears, expands, erupts and absorbs the states. With a program of action and force, private armies and public violence, it takes the uniform of the soldier: Black Shirts in Italy and England, Brown Shirts in Germany, Green Shirts in Austria and Spain, Blue Shirts in France, Belgium and Ireland, Silver Shirts, White Shirts, Khaki Shirts, Blue Shirts, and Black Shirts in America. In three nations, Italy, Germany and Austria, the Shirts have taken over the State, the Shirts are the State, the State is "totalitarian". In all of these we see Fascism in its full flower: all political parties but the political party cease to exist, all trade union organizations but the trade union organization, all expressions of opinion but the expression of opinion, all ideas but the idea cease to exist.

In other countries the process is less complete and the means more subtle. Sometimes the same ends have been accomplished without the mobilization and the hypnotizing of the masses. In Japan, Turkey, Poland and Yugoslavia military dictatorships extend the scope and power of the State; in America and England governments of National Recovery borrow convenient weapons from the Fascist arsenal while seeking to avoid its more repressive features; in France and Spain the ruling classes make a last effort to buttress a collapsing order by the old methods, while forging behind the

scenes the Fascist sword. In all of them the direction at the top and the ferment at the bottom seem more and more to coalesce into this one peculiar burlesque, born of despair and hate, nourished on violence, dedicated to the principle that all men are created slaves of the State. Will the 20th century be the Fascist century?

It will unless Fascism is fought. To fight it we must understand it. We must understand not only its symbols and its symptoms, its shirts and its slogans, its brutalities and its stupidities; but the deep social forces which lie beneath it and from which it draws its strength. We must understand the economic interests and the emotional hungers to which it caters and which it exploits, the national need and the popular idealism which it perverts and leads astray. We must know exactly what it is. We must know much more about it than it knows about itself. We must not be guilty of such vagueness of mind and looseness of phrase as is characteristic of it. There is nothing to be gained by throwing the epithet Fascist at all our rivals and all our opponents. We merely muddy the issue. Fascism is a very clear, specific, strongly marked phenomenon. It can be recognized on sight. There is nothing else like it. The remainder of this pamphlet will be devoted to a dissection of its vitals. What is Fascism?

THE NATURE OF FASCISM

1. POLITICAL

In its essence Fascism is nothing new. Men have often been saddled with dictators. Men have often gone running after them and begged to be dictated to. When an old economy, a decaying social system, breaks down, men call for a leader who will promise them order in the midst of confusion. They demand in their blindness and dismay that the old order, which is the cause of the confusion, be prolonged. Dictators appear when society decays. When the Roman Republic died the Caesars stepped in; when the feudal order broke down the power of the kings grew; when the monarchies became rotten there were the Napoleons. Each by the power of the State held social progress in check for a longer or shorter period. That is what Fascism does.

It expresses the need for centralized authority which appears in a time of economic breakdown and spiritual vacuum. Where that breakdown is still incomplete, dictatorship takes form through the old democratic channels, is gradual and tentative in its limitations on popular government, pays lip service to the old ideals which economic forces are driving it to abandon. We find such a development today in countries where democracy has long been firmly established, as in England, France, and the United States.

In other countries the breakdown in the social order is so complete or so imminent, the confusion and despair of the masses has reached such a pitch of frenzy, that no subtle or mild transition into dictatorship is possible. The masses themselves express their despair in a popular "revolution" which sets up an idol to rule over them. Those interested in the preservation of the old order assist and guide the course of this "revolution". All the creative energies of society are flung passionately into the pursuit of a nebulous and incoherent ideal; the ideal takes concrete form in a mass political party, and the party seizes and absorbs the entire machinery of the state. This is what has happened in Italy and Germany.

With the seizure of power by the Fascist party four elements fuse to exalt and perpetuate the power of the State: the need in a time of economic breakdown of a centralized

direction of the national economy, the need in a time of international tension of a unified direction of national policy, the need in a time of spiritual chaos of a passionate affirmation of tribal unity, and last but not least, the human desire of the Fascist leaders for power. These four elements, working through the Fascist revolution, lead to such a deification of the National State as has never before been seen in history.

"For Fascism," says Alfredo Rocco, Mussolini's Minister of Justice, "society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends". Thus the State is erected into a tribal god of which each citizen is a servant and to which he owes unquestioning obedience. An abstraction has been made a reality. In practice of course the god is not abstract: the State is the Party and the Party is the Leader. The one-party state, the totalitarian state, is merely an instrument through which the dictator operates. He becomes the modern counterpart of the deified Roman emperor and the king by Divine Right. The exaltation of the State is merely an excuse for the complete subordination of the body politic to a man or a group of men.

This subordination involves of course the complete destruction of democracy and all its forms. Personal freedom and individual liberty disappear. "Fascism," says Mussolini, "has already stepped over, and if it be necessary it will turn tranquilly and again step over, the more or less putrescent corpse of the Goddess of Liberty." This involves the absorption by the Fascist Party and the Fascist State of all political organizations, parties, parliaments, from the humblest town meeting to the national congress. It involves sooner or later the control, the taking over, the "Gleichschaltung", of all religious denominations and churches, of all professional groups and societies, of all educational institutions, of all farm organizations, of all business and trade associations, of all trade unions, of all organizations of war veterans such as the American Legion, of all youth movements such as the Boy Scouts, in short, of all the means of group expression, political, religious, economic or professional, in the nation. All are appropriated by the Fascists and either dissolved or dominated and perverted for the purpose of the dictatorship. The People cease to exist. There is only the State, that is, the Party bureaucracy. It is this which now occupies all the

seats of power and privilege, which becomes the machine, the Tammany Hall of Fascism. It is this which establishes and maintains in every obscure corner of the nation the creed and the will of the Party, the "order" of Fascism.

We have said that this "order" which Fascism establishes, or reestablishes, was the old order. We have described it as the reaction of a confused and baffled people to a dissolving social economy. It is only by analyzing what Fascism promises to do, and what it actually does, to that economy that we can understand its essence.

2. ECONOMIC

Fascism promises a great many things. It is all things to all men. It promises to further the interests of all the people. It says it is going to end the conflict between capital and labor by "harmonious collaboration". It says it is going to end the conflicts within industry by restraining competition and eliminating waste. It says it is going to end the conflicts in political life by throwing out the corrupt bureaucracies of the old parties and abolishing the meaningless parliamentary squabbles of democratic procedure. It promises first, therefore, social peace and unity.

It promises, in the second place, both internal and external expansion for the economic life of the nation. It promises independence of foreign products, economic self-sufficiency, the home market for home-producers. It promises at the same time an increased export trade, a capture of new markets, colonial or foreign.

It promises, in the third place, a higher standard of living within the nation. This it calls socialism, because in the countries in which it has appeared the word socialism, if interpreted loosely, has a certain popular appeal. The Hitlerites call themselves the National Socialist Party. They promise to the national economy, therefore, peace at home, expansion abroad, and a fairer distribution of its products. Have they kept, or can they keep, these promises?

The promise of social peace they have kept—in a certain manner. The struggle between capital and labor has been closed by the abolition of the right to strike, by the absorption of all workers into national Fascist unions, and by the direction of these unions either by the employers themselves, as in Germany, or by the Party bureaucracy, as in Italy. The conflicts within industry have been terminated by the en-

couragement of monopolies, trusts and cartels. This policy, of course, is in direct contradiction to the promises of protection invariably made by Fascist parties to small businessmen. Finally, the conflicts in political life are ended by the dissolution of all rival parties, the suppression of their newspapers and organizations, and the imprisonment or execution of their leaders. It thus appears that the Fascists resolve the conflict within the national economy by simply declaring that they do not exist. When faced by a problem their instinct is to suppress it.

In the second place, Fascism is unable to attain that national self-sufficiency which it has promised. It finds that certain raw materials must be imported if its industry is to continue to operate. And it finds that, in order to dispose of the industrial surpluses which its internal market has not the purchasing power to absorb, it must push exports vigorously, in other words rely on those foreign markets of which it boasted its independence. This expansion, backed by the whole power of the centralized Fascist State, eventually will demand exclusive control over neighboring markets by forcible annexation, or will come into conflict with other expanding Great Powers on pre-empted markets. In either case the outcome is war. Thus the Fascist promise of economic self-sufficiency can never be kept, and that of economic expansion abroad leads directly to another world catastrophe.

Thirdly, Fascism is bound by its very nature to fail to bring about a higher standard of living and a fairer distribution of wealth. Socialism to the Nazis is a slogan, not an economic reality. In a debate with Otto Strasser in 1930 Hitler said: "The expression 'socialism' is in itself a bad one, but first of all it does not mean that industry must be socialized, but only that it can be socialized, if it works contrary to the interests of the nation. So long as it does not do this, it would be nothing less than a crime to disturb business." It is therefore not surprising to find that in Germany business is operating almost exactly as before the "National Socialist Revolution". Philip Gibbs reports in the New York Times of March 2, 1934: "Hitler and his lieutenants have not begun the socializing part of the National Socialist program . . . The leader tarries. He has the power but he does not use it. He does not touch the great industrialists or the big bankers. His lieutenants, in fine new uniforms and fine new caps, seemed pleased with power and forget their ideals of sim-

plicity, austerity and Spartan faith. So much the better, in the opinion of millions of middle-class Germans belonging spiritually to the old order. Their terror, I am told, is lest the real revolution is yet to come." They need have little fear—until Fascism is overthrown.

The situation is the same in Italy. The famous Charter of Labor, constitution of the Corporate State, declares: "Art. VII.—The corporate state considers private initiative in the field of production as the most efficient and useful instrument in the interest of the nation." "Art. IX.—State intervention in production takes place only when private initiative is lacking, when it is insufficient, or when the political interests of the State are involved." As a matter of fact, the corporations, whose establishment was provided for by law in 1926, have not yet come into existence. The Corporate State remains largely a fiction for the convenient regimentation of labor and the trustification of industry. The economic machine is still run primarily in the interest of private profit.

Nor has the standard of living been raised. In 1928, a year of prosperity, the real wages of Italian workers were, according to official statistics, 15% lower than in 1914 and 30% lower than in 1921. In 1930, according to the International Labor Office, real wages in Italy were only two-fifths of those in Great Britain and one-fifth of those in the United States. Although Italy is primarily not an industrial country, more than 1,150,000 workers were registered as wholly unemployed in 1934 and a quarter of a million others were listed as temporarily unemployed. Italy, moreover, has no unemployment insurance. In Germany, the development has been the same. "Patriotic" wage-cuts have been imposed widely in the last year, and a nation-wide share-the-work program has been pushed to cut down the staggering unemployment figure. At the same time, prices of staple foods have risen due to tariffs on their import in the interests of agriculture. Unemployment too, according to neutral observers, has been reduced only by the expedient of the state's taking large numbers of people off the dole and putting them on public works projects or in Nazi training camps.

We have seen that the political "order" which Fascism establishes is essentially the old order reenforced by new methods and new expedients. It now becomes clear that the economic "order" which it adopts is of the same character.

Fascism achieves peace and harmony by suppressing its difficulties, not by solving them.

Fascism cannot solve the economic problem. That is its great weakness. All its other sins, its brutality, its hysteria, its persecutions, are secondary. The reason why it can never permanently succeed, why if the 20th century is to be the Fascist century, it will be a century of bloody war and economic collapse unparalleled in history, is that Fascism refuses to permit men to enter the new era, it refuses to accept the implications of technology. Technology has solved the problem of production. The real problem for the 20th century is the problem of distribution. For this the profit system has no solution. Fascism makes and can make no real effort to solve this problem; it is prevented from doing so by both its economic and its psychological characteristics—it is itself the expression of the popular fear of the new era and the popular psychological attachment to the old. It is this fear and this attachment which are exploited by the ruling class to maintain and to consolidate its position by a centralization and a regimentation of the national economy. Laissez-faire competitive capitalism is perforce abandoned, but the profit system remains. The result is state capitalism. Sometimes it is accomplished by the growth of industrial monopoly and the gradual infiltration of the machinery of the state by that monopoly. Sometimes it is accomplished by a full-blown Fascist "Revolution" in which the machinery of the state is taken over wholly and immediately by a Party bureaucracy. But in neither case is the profit economy touched or any attack made upon the fundamentals of distribution. "A Revolution" has occurred, but nothing has been changed.

In summary then, the economic consequences of Fascism are those inherent in the capitalist system, of which it is the climactic expression. They spring inevitably from its unwillingness and inability to distribute purchasing power, lest such distribution eat into profits. This inability prevents the building up of an adequate internal market for the products of the national industry. Production and consumption are not, and cannot be, balanced. In the effort to balance them by the profit method, the national industry and the Fascist State are compelled to resort to one of two expedients: either limit production and create an artificial scarcity, or concentrate on the export market. If the first expedient is adopted, a lower standard of living follows at once. If the

second is adopted, the bitter competition existing in international trade, in a contracting world market, compels a cutting of prices, hence a cutting of costs, a reduction in wages, vigorous technological rationalization leading to unemployment, and hence once again a lower standard of living. The ultimate outcome of the second expedient, pushed to extremes, is of course—war. For the efficient practice of either of these expedients, two more measures prove essential: first, a more complete concentration of industry, leading to the elimination of the small business man, and second, a more vigorous and constant control of the national economy by the State.

The economic consequences of Fascism, then, are: trustification of industry and a growing trend towards state capitalism; a shrinking internal market, artificial limitation of production, a lower standard of living for all classes but the most wealthy; an energetic invasion of foreign markets leading in the present international crisis ever more directly to international war. All of these consequences are already apparent in the case of Italy and Germany—except the last. How long will we have to wait for that?

3. EMOTIONAL

Economic expansion is not the only characteristic of Fascism which leads to war. Equally dangerous is its appeal to the spirit of nationalism.

For Fascism in its full-blown "revolutionary" variety is, as pointed out in the Introduction, a very special phenomenon. Politically, it is our old friend dictatorship in a new shirt; economically, it is our old friend capitalism with new weapons. But the last century and a half has been one in which at least the forms and phrases of democracy were widely current; political action in one shape or another has become the habit of the whole people. It is no longer possible for reaction to be engineered by a praetorian guard, a man on horseback or a money trust, acting alone. Not only revolutions, but counter revolutions as well, are today made by the masses. In our times only the masses can defeat the masses. The tide of popular discontent and despair demanding a new order can be stemmed only by the tide of popular discontent and despair cleaving to the old order. That is the emotional basis of Fascism. It is the instinctive recoil of the people from the mental re-orientation necessitated by a changing

world, it is the psychological lag which holds ways of thinking behind ways of living. It is this psychological backwardness which lures the masses into the Fascist parties to defend the very system which is ruining them. It is this psychological backwardness which is encouraged by all the forces of propaganda, newspapers, radio, movies, sermons, textbooks, cheap literature, which are in the hands of the vested interests. It is this psychological backwardness which allies itself with and expresses itself through all the most primitive and the most pernicious mass emotions persisting in society.

(a) The most powerful of these is nationalism. This is precisely the sort of mass emotion with which Fascism is most congenial and to which it automatically allies itself. The two were made for each other. Nationalism complements and serves Fascism in two ways. Internally it exalts the "historic mission" and the "sacred unity" of the nation, which provides for the heterogeneous elements contributing to Fascism a cohesive force they would otherwise lack. Externally it provides a common enemy, the foreigner, against whom these elements may unite and which serves to distract their attention from internal difficulties and failures.

It is this reckless exploitation of an inflammable mass emotion which, with the drive for foreign markets described above, constitutes Fascism's serious threat to world peace. The nation has been fused into a tense impassioned spiritual whole; national self-consciousness has been exalted and national energy rendered dynamic; a human instrument of tremendous creative or destructive power has been forged. If this instrument cannot be used creatively to reconstruct the social order inside its boundaries (and we have seen that it cannot be so used) it will ultimately explode destructively outside its boundaries.

Mussolini says: "We are forty millions squeezed into our narrow but adorable peninsula. There are around Italy countries that have a population smaller than ours and a territory double the size of ours. Hence it is obvious that the problem of Italian expansion in the world is a problem of life and death for the Italian race." General Goering says: "When as is the case with Germany, 65 million people live in a small space, it is no use trying to solve the social problem, because the essential conditions for a solution of the problem are lacking. The conditions for the solution of the

social problems at home are to build up the outward strength which will there create room for the existence of the individual and of the nation as a whole."

The Fascist nations lead in the armaments race; they denounce and persecute as traitors pacifists of all sorts; they subject the entire nation—beginning with the children in school—to military training and military thinking; they tax bachelors and pay bounties for large families while at the same time complaining that they are overcrowded; they announce publicly their need of their neighbors' lands and markets; they profess their devotion to peace and do everything in their power to instill in their people a war psychosis. Thus Fascism, not only from its economic and political necessities, but from its emotional nature as well, means war.

(b) Closely allied with the spirit of nationalism is the second mass emotion or mass prejudice exploited by Fascism, the glorification of "race." This may be described as the discharge of a national inferiority complex, arising from humiliation or defeat in war. It expresses itself in weird and fantastic theories of "supermen," "chosen peoples" and "racial souls." It gives the humblest follower of the Fascist banner the opportunity to feel himself superior, because he is an Aryan or a Roman or a Nordic. It is directed against all racial minorities within the nation but chiefly against the Jews, since historical developments had placed the key positions of finance, trade, and the professions in their hands. It serves Fascism in the same way as does nationalism: first, to exalt the unity of the nation and veil the clashes of interest within it; second, to offer a scapegoat against whom the despair and indignation of the suffering people can be directed while those really responsible for the catastrophe escape unscathed.

(c) Akin to this mythical glorification of race and nation is the superstitious reverence of the leader—"il duce" or "der Fuhrer-Prinzip"—which Fascism cultivates. This is an extreme and degrading form of mankind's deep-rooted habit of hero-worship. It is an atavistic revival of the older tribal cult of adoration of the chief. In place of developing creative thinking and democratic initiative, Fascism restores slavish submission to authority. It is, as we have seen, the eruption of profound social forces; it is the expression of underlying economic interests and ingrained psychological conservatisms bursting forth in an emotional waterspout.

The exaltation of the leader, the rapt hanging upon his words, the faith in his empty, opportunistic promises, is admission of its weakness and emptiness, its lack of guiding philosophy, the inadequacy of its program.

(d) In the third place, the emotional appeal of Fascism and the psychological backwardness of the people upon whom it relies fuse in an attack on all new thought. Liberals, radicals and progressives of every variety are persecuted and muzzled. Reaction conquers not only the political and economic fields but the cultural and scientific as well. New modes of education, new directions of scientific research, new curiosities in literature and art, new adventures in philosophy are vigorously repressed; for if the people begin to think what will become of Fascism? This popular fear of innovation and of intelligence, which is exploited by Fascism, centers its attack upon political restiveness among the working class and among those who sympathize with it. Political parties of the Left, when republican or radical, are singled out for especial persecution or for complete obliteration. All working-class organizations are destroyed or coordinated to the State. Popular hatred is mobilized against any signs on the part of the wage-earners of independence or initiative, which are labelled as "Marxism" and "Bolshevism." The existence of "labor" as an entity distinct from "the nation" or "the race" is denied. This brings us directly to an examination of the social background and the social significance of Fascism.

4. SOCIAL

The backbone of Fascism has always been the middle class. In Italy the small landholders were its first supporters and Mussolini's legions were made up of sons of the middle class. But the situation appears most clearly in Germany. In the ten years following the war the position of the middle class there was disastrously shaken. The concentration of industry proceeded very rapidly, eliminating or making an employee of the small businessman. The parallel development of chain stores had a similar effect on the small shopkeeper. Increased competition for white-collar jobs and declining opportunities for advancement in those jobs lowered the salaries and status of this group. The professions also were overcrowded and underpaid. Government employees were sacrificed to the necessity for economy on the part of the State.

Farmers were pinched between falling agricultural prices and fixed interest rates on mortgages. To this was added the fatal effects of the post-war inflation which wiped out the savings and investments of this class. All of these trends were responsible for unemployment among middle class men and women on a scale which had never before occurred. These people found rugged individualism and private initiative quite unavailing; they became dependent on society. This was especially true of the thousands of students originating in this class who every year graduated from the universities and were unable to find occupation of any sort.

The effect of this disaster upon the minds of the middle classes was curious. They resented bitterly the development of monopoly capitalism which dispossessed them of their property and independent livelihood and reduced them to the status of employees. They railed against "big business," "monopolies," and "international financiers." Yet at the same time they were deeply alarmed at the growth of radicalism in the working class and at the threat therein to all the institutions and catch-words they held dear. The psychological lag described above came into play. Though the material condition of these groups was often the same as that of the worker, or very close to it, their attitude of mind remained strictly middle class. They resented being identified with the workers, to whom they had always considered themselves superior. They reacted to the socialist threats against property with the same indignation as if they had still possessed property. Their mental roots remained stronger than their physical necessities. Their real desire, which they were rarely able to formulate clearly, was in some way to remove all the disabilities which capitalism had imposed upon their class while at the same time retaining the privileges with which it had once invested them. What they wanted was a revolution which would go not forward but back. Fascism was, of course, the perfect answer to their mental confusion.

It would be a mistake, however, to blame Fascism wholly on the middle-class. As has been said, Fascism sprang from forces of change and dissolution which ran through the whole of society. The working class, too, felt the full impact of the breakdown of capitalist economy. Some of its members were converted to faith in communism; many more joined or gave their votes to socialist parties, which remained socialist in

name alone. Most of the workers, suffering from the same psychological lag, infected through its education and the whole atmosphere in which it had grown up with middle-class psychology, remained even more loyal to democratic principles and capitalistic illusions than did the middle-class. In spite of exhortations from radicals they were not revolutionary and showed slight signs of becoming so. Due to the intensity of their distress and to a reaction against the tactics of the radicals, some contributed to the success of Fascism by actually going over to the Fascist parties. But most made their contribution by holding until too late to democratic illusions and loyalties or by wasting in dissensions within their own ranks the strength they should have turned against the Fascisti. This is what happened in Italy, Germany and Austria, and what is now happening in France and Spain.

A third group plays a very vital part in the success of Fascism. This is the ruling class, the plutocracy, the big industrialists and the monopolists. It is they who under Fascism, as under any other form of capitalism, dominate society. If through the intervention of the State, Fascism in some measure limits the free play of their activities, it is not wholly pleasing to them. It is, however, infinitely preferable to any really sincerely revolutionary or even mildly radical movement which threatens their profits. The reaction of the plutocracy to radicalism shows itself in three degrees, operating always upon public opinion through the power of its money and through the organs of propaganda controlled by its money. To a mild indecisive, ambiguous radicalism, such as that of the New Deal, it reacts by endeavoring to engineer a return to the days of monopoly control, when the bankers and industrialists ran the country unimpeded by the government. To a more thoroughgoing reforming radicalism, taking shape in social services which eat seriously into the profits of the plutocracy, such as that of the British Labor Party, it reacts by endeavoring to engineer a veiled form of business dictatorship, in which the public is persuaded by a threat of national catastrophe to countenance the merging of big business and the government in a sort of interlocking directorate. And to a frankly revolutionary radicalism, or even to one which it is feared may become so, the plutocracy reacts by subsidizing more or less secretly a Fascist party, and, if this proves necessary, by assisting it to come to power. This was the case in both Italy

and Germany where the danger from syndicalists or Communists was felt to be much more imminent than it actually was. Mussolini frankly accepted subsidies from the plutocracy; Hitler was at first more discreet but eventually entered into open alliance with Hugenberg, the newspaper magnate, and Thyssen of the Steel Trust. Today it is generally admitted that leading industrialists of France, Spain and England are providing the sinews of war for the Fascist parties of their respective countries. Big business does not create Fascism, but it uses its strength and shapes its ends.

It is, however, occasionally contended that, though the Fascist leaders may use the plutocracy in their early struggles, upon attaining power they will act independently of it and even contrary to its interests. The theory is that Hitler, having got the sinews of war from Hugenberg and Thyssen, will turn upon them as soon as he has gained his objective. Politically of course this is plausible; the Fascist Party and the Fascist bureaucracy admit no competitors. But economically it is not so; the economic ends of the plutocracy are, as we have seen, pursued by the Fascist State; Schmitt, Schacht, and the big industrialists behind them, remain in control of German economic policy. The Italian Corporate State, in so far as it has more than a paper existence, is an instrument of the industrialists, not of the middle-class or of the workers.

The explanation of this is to be found in the character of the Fascist leaders themselves. First, they too spring from the middle-class; they too have a wholly middle-class psychology; they suffer from the same psychological lag which infects their followers; what they too want is a "revolution" which will repair capitalism without touching its essentials. Secondly, as described above, they received in the formative years of the Party very substantial assistance from the plutocracy and are bound to feel certain obligations to it. Thirdly, after coming to power, the Fascist leaders, being inexperienced in the administration of industry and government, are compelled to take into their ranks many of those who have previously been engaged in that administration; therefore in many cases the Party bureaucracy and the industrial leaders are the same individuals. Fourthly, any government, no matter how dictatorial, must possess at least the consent if not the active support of the most powerful forces and elements in the nation; and the plutocracy with its control of finance and industry remains after as before the Fascist "revolution"

the strongest economic force in the nation. Finally, after the "revolution" the Fascist leaders and the plutocracy have a common interest in the status quo, they both are essentially vested interests; they both are conservative forces; neither wants a change—they need each other.

It is for these reasons that Fascism does not and cannot effect an economic revolution. It is for these reasons that the oft-made suggestion that it is evolving or may evolve into some form of state socialism is pure illusion. It is for these reasons that the hopes of the middle-class and of some of the workers that monopoly capitalism is to be broken up and a classless society introduced are doomed to disappointment. Only the plutocracy, the upper crust, stands to gain by Fascism, as it does by any other form of capitalism.

We have arrived thus at a fairly clear picture of the social significance of Fascism. It appears as the last phase of capitalist society, after finance-monopoly capitalism has nearly destroyed the economic bases of industrial life. As in a slowly dying man unexpected powers of resistance surge forth in a last, violent struggle against dissolution, so in the dying society there develops an unguessed obstinacy of spirit and an amazing adaptability to the atmosphere of decay. All the unexhausted forces of the old order, the embattled rapacity of the vested interest, the psychological backwardness of the majority of the workers and the explosive discontent of the middle-class resist the metamorphosis which confronts them. Capitalist society now makes a last, blind, convulsive effort to escape its fate and to deny in passionate violence and spiritual intoxication the cancer that is destroying its life.

We have seen that such an effort is bound to fail. We have seen not only that it is bound to fail but that in failing it is sure to involve us in complete and disastrous economic breakdown, in a series of appalling international wars and in the most brutal civil strife and repression. The vital question that arises in our mind is whether or not Western civilization can stand this breakdown, these wars, this strife, without disintegrating completely and falling into the chaos of another Dark Ages. In other words, can Western civilization stand Fascism? H. G. Wells said the history of the next twenty years would be a race between education and catastrophe. Fascism means the victory of catastrophe and perhaps the end of the Western world. We have this choice.

THE BEGINNINGS OF FASCISM IN THE UNITED STATES

1. FASCIST AND PSEUDO-FASCIST ORGANIZATIONS

It is customary to think and say that Fascism of the full-blown, repressive type could never win the United States simply because the American people would not put up with that sort of nonsense. That is what the Germans said before 1933. It is true, of course, that as long as our economic situation grows no worse than it is today and so long as there is no violent resistance to capitalism, the existing machinery of government will handle with its mixture of force and cajolery whatever discontent arises. But should the economic security of the middle and ruling classes be seriously threatened, or should a revolutionary labor movement attain considerable proportions, we might expect to see Fascism of the German variety spring up in full flower almost overnight. The emotional instability, the traditions of violence, and the latent nationalism of the American people would make them the most fertile soil imaginable for its growth. We already have all the elements at hand.

Besides the Nazi importations, such as the "Friends of the New Germany," we have thriving little Fascist movements of our own exhibiting all the more virulent symptoms of the disease. The Ku Klux Klan is suffering an eclipse, but it was at one time extremely powerful and may again become so. Its appeal to racial and religious prejudice, its gospel of violence, and its theatrical paraphernalia are all in the best Fascist tradition. We have springing up here and there disconnected and unorganized bodies of so-called Vigilantes whose principal occupation has been beating up labor organizers. They represent the fear appearing in the middle-class of the growing revolt and despair among the workers, and as such provide excellent Fascist material. In other countries, war veterans have also provided such material. Certain elements in the American Legion, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the National Guard are already showing tendencies of this sort.

Among avowedly Fascist organizations we find that of

Lawrence Dennis and his newspaper, "The Awakener," a coterie which is probably too intellectual in its temper and approach to hypnotize either itself or the masses. Another is the "Order of '76," led by one R. S. Gulden, which concentrates on "espionage" against "subversive interests" and declares itself "friendly" to the Nazi cause. Among the numerous "shirt" movements themselves, we have the Khaki Shirts, who once began an invasion of Washington in two trucks, whose leader has recently been convicted of perjury in New York but who still have some influence among Italian-Americans. A second is the White Shirts, or "Crusaders for Economic Liberty," centering their activities in the South. Another potential Fascist outfit is Huey Long's following, whose "share-the wealth" program combines demagoguery with a complete ignorance of the realities of political economy in a typically Fascist manner.

Perhaps the prettiest object lesson in America is offered by the Silver Shirts of Mr. William Dudley Pelley, a gentleman who, he himself assures us, died and was resurrected as early as 1928. These particular Shirts are picking up the leavings of the Klan, adding a dash of Populism and Huey Longism, drawing on the German Nazis for technique and slogans, and working it all up into what Mr. Pelley calls "The Christ Democracy." There seems to be a somewhat unwarranted confusion in Mr. Pelley's mind between Christ and William Dudley Pelley. In the "Christ Democracy" it appears that there will be no more taxes, interest or mortgage foreclosures and every citizen will receive a monthly dividend of \$83.33. It might appear that this program would involve some rather fundamental changes in our economic system, but no!—The Silver Shirts, says Mr. Pelley, "offer the only hope for the way out of the miasma of the present because they are taking concrete steps toward the building of the Christ State without altering present institutions in the slightest." This sleight-of-hand trick is of course pure Fascism: a way out in which everyone gets what he wants and yet nothing is changed. The Silver Shirts, however, are reputed to have 75,000 members; all they need for further growth is money. "Give me a quarter-million dollars to work with," says Mr. Pelley, "and I will absolutely change the thinking of America and bring back our fundamental constitutionalism in a matter of months."

We wonder how soon Pelley will get his quarter-million.

For the present, financial troubles have halted his further advance. In April, 1934, the "Galahad Press," which printed "Liberation," the national paper of the Silver Shirts, went **bankrupt** and "Liberation" was suspended. Pelley, himself is now facing an indictment under the Blue Sky law of North Carolina for selling the alleged worthless stock of the "Galahad Press." Mussolini and Hitler and Stahremberg and Mosley did not have to wait long. As soon as the big industrialists are sufficiently frightened they will pour money into the pockets of any fool. We have already in existence several organizations which might develop into organs of transmission between the vested interests and the Shirts. Dr. Wirt's "Committee for the Nation," which has the backing of a number of our "enlightened" industrial leaders, is already thinking along the lines of Hugenberg and Rothermere. The Crusaders, a group of wealthy young Wets, has recently reorganized and is now, according to its published statement, defending "private initiative" and "militantly opposing all efforts of radical minorities." A so-called "National Security-Holders Association" has just been formed to protect investors against "attacks on the Treasury," inflationary developments, the demands of labor and tendencies to curtail industrial earnings below a "reasonable" level. Any or all of these organizations might ultimately begin the financing of one of our hopeful young Fascist gangs. The idea is not fantastic. All that is needed is a sufficiently critical economic breakdown, a sufficiently active and troublesome labor movement, and a sufficiently confused and desperate middle-class. The background of mass emotions and mass prejudices we have of course at hand.

2. EMOTIONAL BACKGROUND

Racial and religious prejudices are highly developed in America. Anti-Semitism is strong in the metropolitan centers and in many rural areas. After Hitler had used Anti-Semitism so successfully in his rise to power, Pelley adopted the whole Nazi attitude. Nothing more vicious and fantastic with regard to the Jews can be found in Hitler's Germany than in the printed gospels of Mr. Pelley. The Jews, he contends, are a "lost people," wanderers, parasites, accepting and commercializing but never adding and never becoming absorbed into the country in which they dwell. The Jew is identified with the materialism of the international banker as well as

the communist movement. "If we are to understand materialism, we are to understand the Jew. But it is exactly because the true Aryan cannot understand materialism that the Jews have gained power, until now the Aryan race is in a death struggle to maintain the soul of the Spirit it constitutes." Like Hitler, Pelley makes the Jew responsible for the war and the depression. Every ill in America is said to be due either to a Jew or to one who is controlled by Jews. "Of course it was not strictly because of campaign obligations that Franklin Roosevelt recognized Russia. It was mainly because this is openly a Jewish administration."

The Jews are charged with controlling the press, the movies, the stage, the radio and arts and sciences, and it is because of this throttle-hold that the American people are befuddled and misled. Pelley even drags out the discredited "Protocols of Zion" and parades them as authentic. This sort of material is sent far and wide as secretly discovered plans of the elders of the Jewish people to conquer the world. Part of the admission fee to the Silver Shirts pays for this so-called "secret service."

Other organizations now working in America include the Khaki Shirts, the Order of '76 and the Ku Klux Klan, all openly anti-Semitic. The Khaki Shirts have been especially active in distributing, under government postal frank, the violently anti-Semitic speech of Congressman McFadden of Pennsylvania, made at the close of the National Congress in 1933. The Order of '76, operating more or less secretly, has a general antipathy to Jews. The reorganized Ku Klux Klan is weighting its propaganda heavily with anti-Semitic appeals. All of these appeals fall on fertile ground, which the success of the Klan in the early nineteen twenties proves. The Fascist organization most likely to succeed as a political force in America may use this emotional appeal to mass prejudice with as great success as Hitler did in Germany.

We have also in this country a race problem lending itself peculiarly to mass prejudice, the negro problem. It lends and will lend strength to Fascist movements in the South and in the large cities of the North and will be constantly dragged in to muddy and distort economic issues.

Our nationalism is fortunately for the moment quiescent. We are happy in having had no recent national humiliations and in having no enemies who can seriously threaten us. Should these appear, however, the enthusiasm with which

we plunged into both the Spanish and the World Wars shows to what lengths 100% Americanism can inflate itself. We are by temperament not only nationalistic but jingoistic. The influence which military thinking exerts on public opinion in general and on such respectable organizations as the D. A. R. in particular is very indicative. Should we feel our "security," our "prestige" or our "national honor" threatened by Japan, England, or any other country, our nationalism would rise to fever pitch almost overnight. And this fever would contribute enormously to the growth of Fascism, just as it did in Germany and Italy.

The drive against radicalism and against labor union activities has always been conducted with peculiar brutality and severity in this country. The Red-baiting which followed the War, in which anyone who stated publicly the principles of the Declaration of Independence was called a Bolshevik, was very significant and might well recur if radical groups should increase in influence. Already we see the middle-class co-operating in the Imperial and San Joaquin Valleys in California, to mention only the most glaring instance, in the suppression of worker's efforts to organize and press for better living conditions. As trade unionism becomes stronger, the reaction against it on the part of the frightened and confused middle-class will become stronger too. All this is fine fuel for the Fascist fire. Indeed the strength of the middle-class in America is so great and its prejudices so deeply rooted that a full-blown Fascist mass party may not for some time be necessary. "Radicalism" and "labor agitation" may be effectively suppressed by the police, deputies, state troopers, and Vigilantes. But the economic effects will be the same. That brings us to a peculiar aspect of Fascist development in the United States.

3. ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

In Italy, for instance, the Fascist political party seized power and subsequently over a period of years installed the Fascist economic "order." In America, on the other hand, due largely to the advanced development of big business here, we find a tentative state capitalism slowly and almost imperceptibly growing up around us, while the political trend lags behind and the mass Fascist parties are only in the embryo stage. We have witnessed in the America of the last forty years a phenomenal concentration of industry into

trusts and monopolies. This unusual degree of economic centralization renders much easier and more natural the transition into a control of the national economy by the state in the interests of the monopolists, which we have seen is the economic essence of Fascism. In fact, when private industry and laissez-faire competitive capitalism fail to avoid an economic breakdown, the mass of the people itself demands a measure of state intervention. In such a case, this intervention can be effected through normal political channels. This is what Roosevelt was elected to do.

He is quite aware of his function. In the April 7th, 1934 issue of **Today**, Raymond Moley writes: "The New Deal is a rehabilitation of capitalistic enterprise in the United States." Roosevelt himself has often expressed a similar conviction. His job is to "prime the pump," to set the capitalist machine going again. At the same time, he is compelled by the economic exigencies of the situation and by the demand of the people for energetic effective action to attempt a control over industry and agriculture which an earlier capitalism would never have permitted.

Not only do we find the beginnings of state capitalism within the New Deal, but we see also in embryo many of the other symptoms pointed out above as distinctive of Fascism. There is the encouragement of the concentration of industry found in price-fixing and the elimination of competition; there is a constant intervention in labor disputes and a growing tendency to demand their settlement by governmental agencies in the interests of "harmonious collaboration;" there is the artificial limitation of agricultural production and the paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty; there is a definite lowering of the standard of living for many groups due to a more rapid rise in prices than in wages or salaries; and there is the beginning of a state-encouraged invasion of foreign markets, which in the present state of international tension, leads toward the war for which we are already preparing.

It would be a misuse of words to call President Roosevelt a Fascist or to think that he would not find abhorrent such a political system as exists in Italy or Germany. It is nevertheless essential to understand that many of the economic characteristics of Fascism have developed and are developing in America.

4. POLITICAL BACKGROUND

If the economic elements of Fascism are present, the political may very easily follow. Indeed there are already signs of them. Most ominous is a growing disillusionment with democracy, which is forced to bear the blame for the sins of capitalism. We see a rising indignation at parliamentary ineffectiveness, corruption in government and party warfare. We see a growing illusion that all these ills, which arise from the control of governments, parties and parliaments by private interests, could be cured by the concentration of power in the hands of one party or one individual, supposedly serving the interests of the whole people. We see a mounting demand for the installation of a "strong man." It is this demand which appeared in the admiration of so many of our business leaders and of our intellectuals for Mussolini. It is this demand which, for the most part, accounts for Roosevelt's popularity.

Should the economic situation improve we would see a cooling of such sentiments and a contrary praise of old-fashioned individualism and democratic forms, with a continuing growth, of course, of economic concentration and monopoly. Should it not improve, however, the economic tendencies described above might well combine with these political urges to exalt the dictatorial powers of the President. Congress would not be able to prevent it; the States would not be able to prevent it; the Supreme Court would not be able to prevent it. If there exist in America the economic tendencies and the social tendencies making for Fascism, the political instrument will be provided whether it be through a mass movement of "Shirts," through an exaltation of the Presidential authority, or through a combination of the two. We have seen that the economic tendencies do exist. What about the social?

5. SOCIAL BACKGROUND

Earlier in this pamphlet we traced in some detail the developments which made the middle-class in Germany highly receptive to Fascism. Many of those same developments have already taken place in America. The concentration of industry has bankrupted or made employees of thousands of small businessmen, and the NRA is aiding that process. Small shopkeepers have suffered severely from the competition of chain stores. The overcrowding of white-collar jobs and the

professions, coupled with the lack of organization in those occupations, have reduced many of those dependent upon them to an economic position comparable with that of the manual workers. Farmers have been in a state of chronic and growing distress for twelve years and are now resorting to violence; government employees have had a series of salary cuts, only partly restored in July, 1934; students in increasing numbers find that society has no place or need for them. All of these groups are suffering more and more from unemployment. The only element lacking is a serious currency inflation leading to a disappearance of fixed investments. Should the New Deal not show more pronounced success than it has, we may anticipate such an inflation in the next year or so. The middle-class, therefore, here as in Germany, is being gradually proletarianized in fact, while in point of view it remains as stubbornly and aggressively capitalist as ever. We have seen that a class thus pinched between economic necessity and psychological backwardness turns instinctively to Fascism.

The working class too shows little sign of listening to the exhortations of the radical parties or of demanding fundamental changes on its own initiative. Though the swing towards organization in the last year has been tremendous, the company unions have grown faster than the true labor unions, the craft unions faster than the industry unions, and the A. F. of L. faster than the independent unions. In the vast majority of cases the most conservative elements, the vested interests either of capital or of labor, are in control of the unions. This is not primarily due to force or repression but to the innate conservatism of the workers themselves and to the extent to which they are infected with the old-fashioned capitalist point of view. It is unlikely that this point of view will have sufficiently developed either to understand or to resist Fascism for some time to come. Section 7A of the N.I.R.A. was an effort to encourage the organization of independent unions. However, under the pressure of economic events and the directing influence of the great industrialists, even the right to strike is now being subtly and imperceptibly whittled away. Should that right ever be effectively abrogated, with or without the consent of the workers, the decisive step towards Fascism would have been taken.

Finally the third group, the plutocracy, the big industri-

alists and financiers, have reacted to the New Deal very much in the way suggested in the first part of this pamphlet. They have once more given abundant proof that capitalism cannot reform itself, that the vested interests never do and never can think beyond tomorrow's profits, and that any rational attempt to save the system in spite of them encounters their unyielding and savage opposition. After recovering from their first panic of 1933 they have launched upon a campaign of sabotage and evasion against all measures tending to check or control their predatory instincts, and upon a campaign of propaganda for a return to the "American traditions" of rugged individualism and laissez-faire. Should business improve they would probably, as suggested above, be successful in this campaign, and we would step once more on the delirious merry-go-round of expansion, boom and crash. Should business not improve, and should the government therefore launch upon a continued control of industry and upon necessary social services and state expenditures taken from the profits of capital, we should see an attempt on the part of the plutocracy to install the veiled form of business dictatorship now existing in England and France. And should this too prove ineffective and should a continuing and growing unrest manifest itself among the masses, we should expect to find big business beginning, as it did in Germany and Italy, quietly but energetically to subsidize the Shirts and to prepare the country for Fascism.

It thus appears, in conclusion, that any complacent assurance that Fascism can never come to America is largely a product either of superficial or of wishful thinking. On the contrary, Fascism might very well find fair and fertile soil in our deepest rooted emotions, in our most characteristic economic institutions, and in the psychological attitudes of our strongest social groups. We see all the elements, the limbs of the creature, lying scattered haphazard and unsuspected across the American scene. When the next economic crisis confronts us these elements, these limbs, may grow together into the Frankenstein monster which has overwhelmed Germany and Italy—if we do not take steps in time to prevent it. What steps can we take? What can we do?

III.

HOW CAN WE STOP FASCISM?

1. THE SUSCEPTIBLE GROUPS

No one can make us Fascist if we decide not to be. Fascism is not inevitable here nor anywhere else. Only the American people can make America Fascist.

We have seen in our analysis of Fascism that its so-called "social order," which is actually an order on the surface veiling the most profound economic and spiritual disorder, is not in the interest of this people nor of any people. The only group or class in society which it ultimately benefits is the ruling class, the plutocracy plus the Fascist bureaucracy. All the other elements of the people, the middle class and the working class which together comprise more than 95% of our population, suffer in the long run under Fascism far more than they do even under milder forms of the profit system. They have a common interest, the greatest common interest of their lives, if they only knew, in stopping Fascism.

Yet it is among these very elements that are to be found those most susceptible to Fascism and those without whom Fascism, supported only by the plutocracy, could never conceivably come to power. As we have seen, the potential strength of a Fascist movement lies among: the students who come from middle-class backgrounds but can find no middle-class jobs; the white-collar, professional and small business groups who have lost their position and their independence but not their pride and their attachment to past privileges; the farmers whose economic security has been destroyed but who remain blindly loyal to the traditions of a pioneer era; the conservative workers who are compensated for poverty and want by the memory of the equality of opportunity which existed in America sixty or seventy years ago; the reactionary trade union leaders who have a vested interest in the jobs; and the great mass of unemployed of all classes who in their desperation will follow any gospel or any man that promises enough and denounces enough.

All of these elements exist in America today. How can they be prevented from going Fascist? What method of approach can we use to win them from a program which will lead them to their own destruction to a program which will set them to building a new society?

2. APPROACH TO ALL GROUPS

This method of approach must be both negative and positive, destructive and constructive. In the first place, public understanding of the real causes of the economic breakdown must be extended as widely and as rapidly as possible. The whole people must be more and more persuaded by reference to their own experience that this breakdown is a necessary consequence of and is inherent in the very nature of the profit system. They must be brought clearly to understand that the Jews are not responsible, Wall Street is not responsible, Moscow is not responsible, the Brain Trust is not responsible, the Republicans are not responsible, nor is anyone responsible but the system of production for profit instead of for use. If the American people are convinced of this fact, they will not be led, as have the Germans and Italians, on wild goose chases in pursuit of melodramatized scapegoats, while the system itself and those who profit by it are allowed to remain untouched.

Furthermore, the American people must be convinced that the profit system cannot be reformed, that there is no way out under capitalism in any form. The New Deal must be analyzed from day to day, its essential weaknesses and inherent shortcomings pointed out, and its inevitable failure explained. If the people believe that by "radical experiment" the profit system can be repaired and reformed, they may, when they find their mistake, be so disillusioned with all radicalism and with all experiment as to turn in despair to Fascism. But if they understand from the beginning that all efforts at mere reform are necessarily bound to fail, they will come all the more quickly to a frank and fundamental reorganization of our crippled social order.

It is to this constructive and imposing task that they must be urged to turn. They must be persuaded that building a new social order is not only a task necessary to their economic security but is also one in which they can find such satisfaction and fulfillment as is given to few generations. This can be a great age and we a great people, if we choose. The new order, it must be pointed out, is not a negation of the values we hold dear, but the only means of their preservation and growth in a changing economy. In pursuing that order, we, from whatever class or creed we come, can for the first time lead a full life in which the needs of the body and spirit are alike met.

3. APPROACH TO THE WORKING CLASS

It is the working class who have most to lose by the coming of Fascism; it is they who are most strategically placed to fight against it; it is they who must inevitably be the center of such a struggle. For this conflict their organizations must become numerically more powerful and must gain political consciousness with a clear vision of their social goal. At present the American worker usually considers himself a citizen, not as a member of the working class. His psychology and point of view are very close to that of the middle-class, and the approach to him therefore will resemble in many respects the approach to that class. He must be shown that the kind of life he wants cannot possibly be achieved under Fascism, that it can only give him a lower standard of living, take away his right to organize and drive him into war.

4. APPROACH TO THE MIDDLE-CLASSES

We have pointed out that it is at the same time from the revolt and from the conservatism of the middle-classes that Fascism arises. It is therefore imperative, if we are to escape Fascism, that the middle class be won over to a recognition of the viciousness and of the inadequacy of this way out. The approach to them must necessarily be based upon their particular psychological needs and background. The middle-classes cannot be won by shouting names at them, or by calling them Fascists before they become so. They cannot be won by overwhelming them with a deluge of European slogans which sound like nonsense to them, or by attacking indiscriminately all of the principles and institutions to which they are most attached. These tactics will only tend to make them Fascist.

But the middle-classes are of absolutely cardinal importance at this stage in the world's history—especially in the United States. They hold the balance of power; it is their psychology and point of view which sways the great mass of the people; and it is they who with their tradition of independence and liberty are most willing to resort to violence if events too closely circumscribe them. They must not be lost. No new order and no revolution can succeed against their united opposition.

It has been pointed out again and again in this pamphlet that whereas the interest of the lower middle-classes may at

one time, before the wholesale collapse of the profit economy, have been in opposition to that of the workers, it is now identical with theirs, at the main point. Their psychological outlook still holds them stubbornly aloof, but their economic plight has the same roots and the same symptoms. They too are faced by want and insecurity, they too suffer from a reduced standard of living, they too are confronted by prolonged unemployment, they too are distraught by the mental ignobilities and the spiritual suicides of this dying era. Once again, as in the early days of America, the mass of the people stand together with a common interest in the new society which they must build if they are not to perish.

The appeal must be on the basis of this unity of need which actually exists but has not yet been recognized. If the workers and middle-classes can be brought together by the Fascists in a false unity of interest in the existing order, they can be brought together by other forces in a real unity of interest in a new society.

The farmers must be appealed to on the basis of security, the possession of their homes and a fair return for their labor. The students must be appealed to on the basis of opportunity, a job to live by, and an ideal to make life worth living. The white-collar and professional groups must be appealed to on a basis of security and opportunity; they must be shown that they too have become one of the "costs" of industry which the profit system demands be whittled down and cut; they must be convinced that only by organization, occupational and political, can they preserve their livelihood and their independence. It must be impressed again and again upon all these groups that their interest is now identical with that of the workers, that a higher standard of living for everyone, that the defeat of the workers means the defeat of the strongest organized element in the nation which stands up against the exploitation of all of us. All of these people must be united in the fight against their common enemy, the profit system, in order that they may not be misled and betrayed into fighting each other. Above all, the false and deceptive character of the Fascist economic program must be patiently explained over and over again and the truth demonstrated day in and day out that this program has not in Germany and Italy, and cannot anywhere in the world, keep the promises it so glibly and recklessly makes. It must be shown that the "order" it promises is not a new

order but the old order brutalized, sentimentalized and de-vitalized.

Specifically we who fight against Fascism must resist in our community whatever Fascist organizations appear. We must attack them with ridicule, with careful analysis, and with thorough exposure. We must unite against them all organizations, religious, liberal, or educational, whose spirit is anti-Fascist. We must win to our support by the appeal and the methods described above those very organizations in which Fascism most easily takes root, but which once won over will be the strongest bulwark against it. We must effectively resist all attempts to restrict the right of labor, the farmers, and the unemployed to organize, to demonstrate, to strike, and to picket. And we must fight untiringly all the prejudices, nationalistic, racial, religious, anti-radical, on which Fascism feeds. But we must never forget that in fighting these things, these organizations, these prejudices, we are fighting symptoms, not causes, that so long as the profit system and capitalist society remain the Fascist menace will remain, and that the only ultimate escape from Fascism is into a new social order.

WE CAN STOP FASCISM

Fascism is not inevitable. It is only by hopelessly giving up the fight that we make it so. Fascism is in the individual a mental complex arising from fear and ignorance, and in society a political reaction against economic progress, the last attempt of a ruling class to hold the rest of us in subjection to its interests. It is the victory within us and within the social order of the past over the future. It is the instinctive recoil of the cautious and the conservative in human nature from great adventure and great achievement.

We can beat it at its very heart. We can conquer that ignorance and erase that fear by a vivid explanation of the security and satisfaction which the new social order holds for each one of us. We can overcome that political reaction by winning from it the chief groups which give it strength. We can root out from within us and from within society those relics of the past which prevent us from realizing our future. We can unite in a real battle against the old order all the elements which Fascism drives into sham battles against each other. We can appeal to the daring and the forward-moving elements in human nature which have always made man the master of great adventure and great achievement.

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